

The German-Language  
Emblem in its  
European Context:  
Exchange and Transmission



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# German-Hungarian Relations in Literary Emblematics

BY

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On the European map of emblematics — at least, for an outside observer — Hungary is one of the last blank spaces.<sup>1</sup> In Hungary, too, as in most European countries, emblematics is integrated into a differentiated literary system, and has always had a close connection with definite ideological, religious, political and other trends. In an international context one can summarize that here emblematics did not have theoreticians of European importance, even though theoretical reflection was continually present and the influence of European authors can also easily be shown. And although the relative poverty of theory was coupled with a significant wealth of practice, in Hungary nobody who cultivated the emblem has been ranked with the great European authors, except for János Zsámboky (Sambucus). A main feature is the reception of European tendencies and the activity of second- and third-rank authors; cultivating the emblem for its own sake was pushed into the background by comparison with employing it in the various genres. A typological variety commensurate with that of the Southern and Western European countries is missing; the connection between emblematics in literature and in the visual arts has only an occasional character. Emblematics in Hungary has no such definite profile as it does, for example, in the Netherlands; and there is undeniably less invention in it. All this can be understood primarily from the fact that in Hungary emblematics did not appear as the result of an organic development as it did, for example, in Italy and in France, but only established itself in the wake of borrowings and in various indirect ways.

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<sup>1</sup> Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp, 'Towards a Corpus of the Hungarian Emblem Tradition (Literary emblematics and emblem-reception in Hungary 1564-1796)', in *European Iconography East and West: Selected Papers of the Szeged International Conference June 9-12, 1993*, ed. György E. Szönyi (Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill, 1996), pp. 190-208.

A significant number of the main types of emblem books, of the genres which have incorporated the emblem or had contact with it, of the special emblem types, and of the interaction between picture and text was known also in Hungary; but all this surfaced with some time lag, in reduced form, and with a strong predominance of edifying, religious-moral purpose and of the verbal component. The manifold influence of the German language area is conspicuous even at first glance. Among the engraving centres abroad Vienna has the chief role; beside it the engravers of Augsburg, Graz, Nuremberg, and Linz appear in the corpus. Among the foreign locations of printing presses Vienna stands in the first place, followed by Antwerp and Graz. The presence of Altdorf in the list indicates the connection with a further important workshop of European emblematics. The breakdown by language shows a clear preponderance of Latin: about three-quarters of the publications were printed in that language. The proportion of the prints in Hungarian is not even one-fifth of the entire material; those printed in German amount in number to one-half of those in Hungarian. Beside the constant presence of Latin, emblematic works in the vernacular begin to appear in the first third of the seventeenth century, first in German and later in Hungarian. Only from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards do publications in the vernacular begin to take the place of those in Latin. All this shows that among the international contacts of literary emblematics in Hungary the relations with Germany are the most intensive and most varied.

#### GERMAN AUTHORS EDITED IN HUNGARY

The ratio of translations from German authors into Hungarian is relatively low. Among the Lutheran meditational collections we must first mention the emblematic illustrations, made at a later date, in Johann Arndt's work *Vom wahren Christentum* (1st complete edition Magdeburg, 1610), published several times in Hungary. Dietmar Peil has established that the first emblematic edition of the work was published in Riga more than fifty years after the death of its author, in 1678/79; besides the ornamental title page it was decorated with fifty-six full-page copper engravings.<sup>2</sup> The emblems were taken over into numerous later editions: while their design may have been different, their number remained mostly the same and after 1696 a prose explanation was added to each emblem.

<sup>2</sup> Dietmar Peil, *Zur 'angewandte Emblematik' in protestantischen Erbauungsbüchern: Dilherr — Arndt — Francisci — Scriver* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1978), pp. 46-62; Dietmar Peil, 'Zur Illustrationsgeschichte von Johann Arndts *Vom wahren Christentum*: Mit Bibliographie', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (1977), 963-1066.

A peculiarity of Arndt's reception in Hungary is that neither the 1708 Lócse [Levoča, Sl.] edition by Kata Szidónia Petrőczy,<sup>3</sup> nor the 1741 Sopron edition with a fictitious place of printing, connected with the names of Márton Vázsonyi, György Bárány de Szenice, and Sartorius János Szabó contain illustrations.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, István Huszti's translation of another popular collection of prayers by Arndt, the *Paradiesgärtlein* (Magdeburg, 1612), gives in the second, Nuremberg, edition of 1724, edited by Mátyás Bél, a total of six unequally distributed emblematic illustrations.<sup>5</sup> Above the *picturae* in oval frames one can read a Latin motto and below, in a separate cartouche, a six-line verse *subscriptio* in Hungarian. The role of the emblems, besides proportioning, is to emphasize and summarize the central idea of the relevant part of the text.

A further example of the reception of emblematically illustrated Protestant meditational collections in Hungary is József Inczédi's Hungarian translation of Johann Gerhard's work entitled *Quinquaginta meditationes sacrae* (Jena, 1606); following its first edition it went through numerous further editions until the end of the century.<sup>6</sup> At the centre of the meditations stands the idea of the road leading to eternal life, with special emphasis on the themes of the vanity of the world, the last judgement, repentance, suffering, temptation and love. Instead of a total of 51 engravings in the illustrated editions of the work, one can find only ten symbolical pictures in the Hungarian edition. The translator has reproduced the texts of the meditations in rhymed prose; he added to a few selected parts a picture summing up the main idea of the part, with a framed motto on top and a four-line verse explanation beneath. The engravings are variations on motifs well known from emblematics but were not made on the basis of the earlier, emblematically illustrated, German editions.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Johann Arndt (tr. Kata Szidónia Petrőczy), *Jo illattal füstölgő igaz sziv* (Lócse: n. p., 1708).

<sup>4</sup> Johann Arndt (tr. Márton Vázsonyi), *Az igaz keresztyenségről írott negy könyvei* (Jena: n. p., [Sopron: Rennauer] 1741).

<sup>5</sup> Johann Arndt (tr. István Huszti), *Kerestyényi jószágos tselekedekkel, [!] tellyes Paraditsom kertetske [...] Huszti István MDCXCVIII esztendőbeli fordítása után [...] ki botsátatott, Bél Mátyás [...] által* (Nuremberg: Mónath, 1724).

<sup>6</sup> Johann Gerhard (tr. József Inczédy), *Liliomok völgye [...] azaz ötven sz. Elmélkedések...* ([Szeben?]: n. p., 1745).

<sup>7</sup> Johann Anselm Steiger, 'Seelsorge, Dogmatik und Mystik bei Johann Gerhard. Ein Beitrag zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit der lutherischen Orthodoxie', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 106 (1995), p. 334; Zoltán Trócsányi, 'Egy illusztrált protestáns barokk könyv: Az első magyar makáma', in Zoltán Trócsányi, *A történelem árménykában* (Budapest: Hungaria, 1936), pp. 99-104; Tivadar Thienemann, 'XVI. És XVII. századi irodalmunk német eredetű művei', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 32 (1922), 84-85.

Turning now to Catholic authors, we mention first one of the most popular Jesuit writers of seventeenth-century devotional literature who repeatedly broke through the denominational boundaries, Jeremias Drexel. About a quarter of Drexel's lifework, that is to say about ten works, can be counted as emblematic literature, and there can be no doubt that the use of emblematics significantly contributed to the popularity of the works. Drexel's most popular book, *De aeternitate considerationes* (Munich, 1620), went through a total of nearly one hundred editions;<sup>8</sup> half of these are in the vernacular, among them Gergely Szentgyörgyi's Hungarian translation.<sup>9</sup> The tract, rewritten from sermons for Advent, consists of a total of nine meditations, each of which is divided into three parts. While the Hungarian translation does not contain illustrations, the majority of editions has for each of the meditations a copper engraving serving as a basis for the meditation. When enumerating the symbols of eternity taken from Nature, Drexel puts especial stress upon introducing hell. The seventh meditation begins with the description of a symbolic depiction of eternity, and the meditation proper is then given by the *explicatio* of this picture. The eighth meditation warns that it is not enough to think only about the symbols of eternity; it is very important that eternity should also be present in the heart. The task of the pictorial descriptions put into a rhetorical context is to make the spiritual content more expressive.

Drexel's other work of emblematic character translated into Hungarian is the *Heliotropium*, first published in 1627. The central theme of this collection of meditations, divided into five books and subdivided within them into varying numbers of chapters, is how to direct human thought and action to be in harmony with God's will. In the majority of editions one can find at the start of each book a symbolic copper engraving presenting in advance the main message of the book concerned. The picture of the sunflower is applied by Drexel consistently to man. The first two, seventeenth-century, Hungarian translations of the *Heliotropium* have been lost; both translators, János Komáromi and István Újhelyi, were Calvinist noblemen, and in December 1703 Újhelyi asked Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II to have his book printed.<sup>10</sup> The new translation of the work appeared nearly a century and a half after the

<sup>8</sup> Peter M. Daly and Richard G. Dimler, *The Jesuit Series: (Bibliography)*, 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997-1999); cf. Karl Pömbacher, *Jeremias Drexel: Leben und Werk eines Barockpredigers* (Munich: Seitz, 1965).

<sup>9</sup> Jeremias Drexel (tr. Gergely Szentgyörgyi), *Elmélkedések az örökkévalóságról* (Pozsony: n. p., 1643).

<sup>10</sup> *A magyar irodalom története 1660-tól 1772-ig*, ed. Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1964), p. 352.

first edition from the pen of county sub-prefect András Dévay.<sup>11</sup> Neither this edition nor the second edition of 1770 have illustrations but throughout one can find textual explanation of the pictures.

The influence of German emblematics is reflected by the collection of prayers and meditations from the second half of the seventeenth century which probably enjoyed the most editions among works from this period, the *Himmlisch Palm-Gärtlein* of Wilhelm Nakatenus (1st edition Cologne, 1662). In the foreword Nakatenus himself refers to the use of the pictures, and besides the ornamental title page of emblematic character found in some of the editions the work is illustrated by 29 full-page engravings, structured *inscriptio-pictura-subscriptio*. These picture-text combinations linked with the individual thematic units only seldom have a symbolic content, and they depict various religious themes.<sup>12</sup> In Hungary several editions of the work are known and some of them contain illustrations.<sup>13</sup>

To the genre environment of the emblematic Princes' Mirrors (*Fürstenspiegel*) belong the symbolic collections of advice intended for rulers. One of the first examples of this type of publication is the *Symbola imperatorum* of Nicolaus Reusner. The Hungarian edition was published more than 150 years after the first edition (Frankfurt/M., 1588).<sup>14</sup> Reusner collected actions and sayings connected with famous Greek, Italian, and German rulers and appended to them symbolic interpretations enriched by quotations from classical authors. The Buda edition follows exactly the tripartite division of the original and its text; the occasion of its publication was János Sigray's examination in philosophy.

In Hungary most of the authors of the emblematic manuals of virtue were Jesuits and conveyed the tradition of Christian stoicism. The earliest representative of this stream, writing in Hungarian, was Lukács Pécsi who belonged to the Nagyszombat writers' circle of Miklós Telegdi, bishop of Pécs and vicar general of Esztergom. Pécsi adapted the 1581 Prague edition of Lukas Martini's work of moral precepts for women, entitled *Der christlichen Jungfrauen Ehrenkränzlein*.<sup>15</sup> The woodcuts of

<sup>11</sup> Jeremias Drexel (tr. András Dévay), *Nap után forgó virág* (Nagyszombat: Acad. SJ., 1764).

<sup>12</sup> Kurt Küppers, *Das Himmlisch Palm-Gärtlein des Wilhelm Nakatenus S. J. (1617-1682): Untersuchungen zu Ausgaben, Inhalt und Verbeitung eines katholischen Gebetbuchs der Barockzeit* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1981), pp. 68-69.

<sup>13</sup> Wilh[elm] Nakatenus, *Kurzer Begriff des himmlischen Palm-gärtleins [...] Mit Zufügung sonderbarer Andachten bey etlichen Bildern* (Kassa: Acad. SJ., 1737); Wilhelm Nakatenus, *Exercitium pietatis* (Nagyszombat: Acad. SJ., 1755).

<sup>14</sup> Nicolaus Reusner, *Symbola Imperatorum [...] Classis 1-3*, (Buda: Landerer, 1761).

<sup>15</sup> Lukas Martini (tr. Lukács Pécsi), *Az keresztyen szuzeknek tisteseges koszoroia* (Nagyszombat: [typ. capituli], 1591).



the volume were also done after the engravings in that edition. In this late-Renaissance manual of virtues exhibiting mannerist stylistic characteristics each of the twenty flower illustrations symbolizes a female virtue. The pictures and the meditations explaining them are closely connected to each other and form an allegorical system determining the whole work. A further example of this genre, Michael Pexenfelder's *Ethica symbolica*, appeared in Hungary as a supplement to the *Calendarium Tyrnaviense*, in several instalments between 1752 and 1764.<sup>16</sup> It contains textual explications of symbols and allegorical interpretations taken from classical mythology.

#### HUNGARIAN AUTHORS WRITING IN GERMAN

In the period concerned a large German population lived in Northern and Western Hungary and produced a significant literature; many emblematic works were also published. An early example of Hungarian authors writing in German is Kristóf Lackner, burgher-master of Sopron.<sup>17</sup> In one of his works he gives an emblematic demonstration of the Christian virtues or rather, of those necessary for successful warfare.<sup>18</sup> The copper engraving on the back of the title page of the *Emblematischer Tugend Spiegel* shows all the emblems representing individual virtues together, while the eight further engravings in the work depict them individually; each has connected to it a prose *explicatio* of varying length, consisting of a series of *exempla*.

The most significant emblem author in Hungary writing in German was János Weber, physician and apothecary, chief justice of Eperjes [Prešov, Sl.], a talented politician of his period.<sup>19</sup> He had published his Latin-German work *Janus bifrons* in 1662, on the occasion of his inauguration in the office of chief justice.<sup>20</sup> The title page is decorated by nine emblems concerning the power of the ruler and city government. This publication survived in two variants, with two different dedications. In the first variant the dedicatee is Count Johann Rottal, the administrator

<sup>16</sup> Michael Pexenfelder, 'Ethica symbolica', in *Calendarium Tyrnaviense, Supplementum* (Nagyszombat: Acad. SJ., 1752-1764).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. József László Kovács, *Lackner Kristóf és kora (1571-1631)* (Sopron: Soproni Szemle, 1972).

<sup>18</sup> Christoph Lackner, *Emblematischer Tugend Spiegel und christlicher Discurs [...] mit schönen Emblematum, Symbolorum et Exemplorum Figuren und Schmuck gezieret* (Frankfurt/M.: Hoffmann, 1618).

<sup>19</sup> Emil Hargittay, 'Zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in Ungarn: Johann Weber (1612-1684)', *Berliner Beiträge zur Hungarologie*, 7 (1994), 77-94.

<sup>20</sup> Johann Weber, *Janus bifrons seu Speculum Physico-Politicum. Das ist Natürlicher Regenten Spiegel...* (Lösch: Brewer, 1662).

of Hungarian affairs in Vienna, and in the second György Szelepcsényi, archbishop of Esztergom: they both were godfathers to Weber's newly-born son. Of the three further engravings in the first variant, the first shows the author, the second the city of Eperjes, and the third the flag-bedecked interior of the Eperjes Lutheran church with a festive mass of people. In the second variant there is another engraving after the title page, bearing the legend 'Felicitas Principum', in which one can see on each of two columns the symbolic pictures of 13 royal virtues. In this same variant there is also a further engraving showing the *exemplum* of the *asinus vulgi*; under it one can read a Latin epigram applying the moral of the story to the ruler and a German proverb. In the appendix four more emblems can be found, with six-line epigrams about the author's children.

As Emil Hargittay pointed out, behind this work with its peculiar system of symbols we find the individual ambition and double professional consciousness of Weber, the physician and the justiciary.<sup>21</sup> This is indicated in the congratulatory poems introducing the publication, as well as by the structure and by the symbolic explication of Psalm 101 in which Weber assigned to each psalm verse a part of the body or an organ. This explication serves as the sketch of the 21-chapter work: the chapter headings 'name one (or two) parts of the body or organs of the prince or his physical peculiarities, and the political-moral explication is added to these with the help of the usual biblical, classical, medieval and recent quotations'. By 'prince' Weber means not only kings and rulers but also the magistrates of a city. The speech excerpt given in the appendix summarizes in 26 points the similarities between physicians and rulers, while the other parts of the appendix detail the three biblical *topoi* of the wise ruler (the ruler as shepherd, as helmsman, and as father of a family). All these texts stand in close relationship to the details of the pictorial illustrations in the work and as it were explain them. A further peculiarity of the compilation is the continual tension between personal matters of the moment and the message claiming general validity, as well as the system of symbolical-allegorical references encompassing the entire work.

After Weber had been elected chief justice of Eperjes for the fourth time, he again turned to the genre of the Princes' Mirror. The bilingual *Lectio principum* published in 1665 for this occasion is also known in two variants: one without pictures and one deluxe variant illustrated with

<sup>21</sup> Emil Hargittay, 'A fejedelmi tükör műfaja a 17. századi Magyarországon és Erdélyben', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 99 (1995), 473.

four copper engravings known in part already from the earlier work.<sup>22</sup> In the deluxe variant one can see behind the ornamental title page the picture of Emperor Leopold I and then the author's portrait and coat of arms already known from the *Janus bifrons*. The third engraving, inscribed 'Sic itur ad astra', illustrates Weber's transfiguration in *impresa* style, allegorically, as he rises high with his carriage, while the fourth engraving is again identical with the composition 'Felicitas principum' known from the earlier work. The repeated use of the two engravings indicates that the two works belong together, and the identical illustrations mentioned show the enduring presence of the emblematic mode of expression. In contrast to accepted custom, Weber dedicated his work not to the ruler but to 73 named citizens of Eperjes.

The work, almost two hundred pages long, with no chapter divisions and a somewhat uneven structure, presents the picture of the ideal ruler according to Christian-Humanist virtues. Weber makes use of a great number of *topoi*, quotations and *exempla*; only seldom, however, does he indicate his sources and then incompletely. Here, too, he quotes the fundamental idea of the previous work about the similarity of human and social structures; he utilizes his medical knowledge, presents his views about man's physical needs and inserts observations concerning his own community into the discussion of the permanent themes of the genre. The thoughts presented do not directly connect with the fourth illustration at the beginning of the deluxe variant of the work; thus this latter can only be considered a secondary addition.

Weber's third work unites the genre of the emblematic Princes' Mirror with the symbolic explication of the Eperjes city coat of arms granted in 1588 by Ferdinand I.<sup>23</sup> On the first page of this 430-page work, published in 1668 on the occasion of his resigning his judicial office, and dedicated to the 45 trade guilds of the city, one can see above the view of Eperjes the city's coat of arms engraved in copper, and the eight chapters of the book explain its motifs. According to Weber the symbolic figures and objects symbolize the virtues a ruler must have. As in his two earlier works — to which he himself makes reference — the emblems only serve Weber as a pretext to expound his thoughts about the personality of the ruler and the governance of a country or city. A further correspondence is that here, too, Weber develops his ideas concerning respectively the prince and the realm through a moral and political explication of the parts of the human body. At the beginning of the chapters comes the naming of the given symbol and its brief

<sup>22</sup> Johann Weber, *Lectio Principum. Hoc est: Politica Manuctio, quopacto iuveni gubernatori christiano [...] Das ist...* (Löcse: Haered. Brewer, 1665).

<sup>23</sup> Johann Weber, *Wappen der königl. Freyen Stadt Eperies...* (Löcse: S. Brewer, 1668).

explanation, the designation of its role in the structure of the coat of arms, and the explication of the virtue in question with the help of historical examples. Following this, Weber clarifies the meaning of the symbol's placement in the coat of arms, then he describes the various kinds and types of object or animal depicted, and finally he advises the ruler about how to practise the various virtues.<sup>24</sup> All this is accompanied by numerous examples, quotations and proverbs. One of the possible sources of the symbolic explanations is the diploma by Ferdinand I granting the coat of arms, which interprets the meanings of the eight symbols in the coat of arms in a manner similar to Weber's.

Only one single emblematic collection of meditations is known by a Lutheran author in Hungary writing in German. This is the Latin-German *Ornithica Sacra* of Johannes Sinapius, a Lutheran pastor from Trencsén living in exile in Germany.<sup>25</sup> The work is built upon one of the favoured sources of motifs for emblematics, the world of birds. According to the title page, Sinapius composed this emblematic ornithology, 'geistliche Vogel-Beitze', dedicated to the Magdeburg Margraves Louis and Philip, 'zur Fürstlichen Lust wie auch aller frommen Christlichen Hertenzen zur nützlichen und seeligen Erbauung'. In the book one can find woodcuts of a total of 26 birds having symbolic meanings. These pictures are accompanied by prose explanations of various lengths, with the Christian virtues at the centre. In the compositions called 'Allegoria' the name of the bird above the picture can always be read in German, and under it in further languages, including Hungarian. Recurring in each part, this is followed by the 'Rede', the 'Naturale', the 'Cordiale', and the 'Speciale' *explicatio* expanded by various stories, quotations and adages. There are some birds with two series of explanations.<sup>26</sup>

Like Sinapius, Andreas Thann also took refuge in Germany from the religious persecutions in Upper Hungary. His voluminous tract published in 1680 and 1681 in two parts is built upon the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>27</sup> Thann draws a parallel between the main dogmas — thus, for example, the Holy Trinity, Providence, free will, and the sacraments — and the precious stones adorning the insignia of the High Priest and the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, and he expounds through the symbolic-emblematic explanation of the 12 precious stones (dogmas) in

<sup>24</sup> Orsolya Bubryák, 'Weber János Wappen der königlichen freyen Stadt Eperies címü müvéről', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 99 (1995), 335-343.

<sup>25</sup> Johann Sinapius, *Ornithica Sacra, Geistliche Vogel-Beitze zur Fürstlichen Lust...* (Hall in Sachsen: Walter, [1682]).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. José Julio García Arranz, *Ornithología emblemática. Las aves en la literatura simbólica ilustrada en Europa durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Cáceses: Universidad de Extremadura, 1996).

<sup>27</sup> Andreas Than, *Des Heiligen und Neuen Jerusalems Erster Theil...* (Weissenfels: Brühl, 1680); Andreas Than, *Des Heiligen und Neuen Jerusalems Zweiter Theil...* (Leipzig: Krüger, 1681).

both parts how the believer can reach the heavenly Jerusalem. Before the title pages of both parts we find the same double frontispiece on whose one half the emblem of the Church can be seen and on the other eight smaller emblems, set in an oval frame, including the motifs of the Old and the New Testament, of sacrifice, faith and the praise of God.

The Sopron Lutheran preacher, Johann Conrad Barth, in his German speech on the occasion of the election of the city administration, used the descriptions of the emblems in the council room of the city hall, placed there by Lackner, and the backbone of the speech follows their arrangement.<sup>28</sup> The continuity of the German emblematic tradition in Sopron created by Lackner is witnessed by the German resignation speech of the Sopron judge Ferdinánd Dobner.<sup>29</sup> An important part of it is the explanation of the three copper-engraved emblems which show the coat of arms, riches, and military glory of the city.

An example of emblematic forms in Catholic sermon literature in German is the sermon of János Sebacher, composed for the 1703 consecration of the church of the Blessed Virgin in Boldogasszony [Frauenkirchen, A.].<sup>30</sup> To several symbols Sebacher added an explication in verse praising, above all, the patron who had the church rebuilt. In the following example the quotation from Horace, fitted into the sermon in two parts as a motto, helped to connect the series of thoughts suggested by the symbol: 'hat er sich doch auch da dess Symbolischen Löwens Beyschrift: "Ad nullius pavebit occorsum", in keinen Anlauff/ erschrocken er laufft/ so ihm mitten unter den Feinden im Feld beygesetzt wurde/ wollen bedienen/ und "Fortiter resistendum", wie in Weltlichen/ also auch in Geistlichen Verhindernüssen starcken Widerstand gethan/ jenes Horatij (Lib. 2. Satyr. 2.) zu gemüth führendt:

... Vivite fortes,  
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.  
Ihr Starcke solt leben  
Heldenmüthig widerstreben  
Den widrigen Dingen  
So euch nicht gelingen.'<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Johann Conrad Barth, *Oedenburgisches Rath-Haus, weiland vom seligen Herrn Christoph Lackner [...] mit sinnreicher (!) Gemälden und Spruchen geziert...* (Pozsony: Gründer, 1670).

<sup>29</sup> Ferdinand Dobner, *Der Königlichen Frey-Stadt Oedenburg [...] schriftlich sammt denen Emblematibus, von dem Schützenmeister allhier communiciret worden* (Regensburg: Hofmann, 1698). Dobner's namesake, Abraham Aegidius Dobner, compiled the biography of the well-known Sopron emblematis: *B. Domini Christophori Lackner [...] vitae Curriculum* (Regensburg: Hofmann, 1714). In it he treats Lackner's emblematic activity in detail.

<sup>30</sup> Joannes a Capistrano Sebacher, *Der zum vierten Erbaute Tempel Salamon...* (Nagyszombat: Acad. SJ., 1703). A Lutheran emblematic funeral sermon in German appeared in 1673 for Margarethe Klesch: Philippus Heutsch, *Corona Margaritaria [...] Ejne Geistliche Perlen-Krone...* (Löcse: S. Brewer, 1673).

<sup>31</sup> Sebacher, *Der zum vierten Erbaute Tempel Salamon...*, p. 26.

In the group of congratulatory publications appearing on the occasion of significant events of family life we also find some examples in German. The Kismarton [Eisenstadt, A.] parish priest Aemilianus von Ludwigsdorff who had congratulated Pál Antal Eszterházy on his birthday with the interpretation of one single allegorical engraving,<sup>32</sup> composed for the name day of Sigismund Khevenhüller, governor of Lower Austria, a speech which congratulates the person being celebrated by explaining the symbolic, emblematic elements which can be seen on the frontispiece of the publication.<sup>33</sup>

#### HUNGARIAN AUTHORS EDITED IN THE GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

Because of the relatively inadequate development of typography in Hungary and for other reasons many emblematic prints by Hungarian authors were published in the German-speaking countries, mostly in Latin. In this group almost every type of publication is represented by many pieces, therefore we quote only one or two examples for each type. In the group of the examples for prosody, Mihály Aszalós, who belonged to the Heidelberg circle of writers, dedicated his Latin poems to his relatives, friends, and patrons, written in various classical forms.<sup>34</sup> His book was published in Marburg in 1618 and exhibits late-humanist and mannerist influences. In each poem Aszalós names a plant; he then greets the person compared with this plant by a dedicatory *lemma*, and this, finally, is followed by the metrical *explicatio*. The poems (*strenae*) glorify the virtues, qualities, and way of life of the dedicatee; they also explain why the person in question can be compared with the selected plant. This form of symbolization clearly indicates Aszalós's idea: he wished to provide exercises in poetry, using a fashionable form of expression, a series of *impresas* connected with persons. Aszalós's point of departure may have been the humanist emblem and *impresa* practice in which representing persons or abstractions through plants or animals had played a significant role.

The first Hungarian Princes' Mirror in Latin which can be considered as emblematic is the work of Kristóf Lackner. It was published in Lauingen in 1615, a mere three years after the first seventeenth-century example of the genre in Hungary, the Guevara translation of György

<sup>32</sup> Aemilianus von Ludwigsdorff, *Der von dem Hauß seines Vatters in frembde Land [...] abreysende [...] Paulus Antonius Carolus Esterhazi de Galantha...* (Vienna: Schilgen, [1720]).

<sup>33</sup> Aemilianus von Ludwigsdorff, *Der [...] May-Baum [...] Herrn Sigismundi Friderici [...] Graff Khevenhüller...* ([Vienna]: Schilgen, 1724).

<sup>34</sup> Michael Aszalós, *Calathus strenarum hortensium, symbolicarum et poeticarum* (Marburg: Saur, 1618).

Szepsi Korotz.<sup>35</sup> The work, dedicated to the Hungarian king Mathias II and to the palatine György Thurzó as the creators of peace in the country, shows on two copper engravings the front and back views of an emblematic crown modelled on the Holy Crown of Hungary. On the engravings symbolic motifs can be seen fitted in place of the *cloisonné* enamel panels decorating the original crown and on to the plinth of the crown. The 32 motifs, engraved singly and provided with mottoes, symbolize various virtues that a ruler should have. Their meaning is explained by a significant amount of classical, biblical and humanist quotations as well as by prose subscriptions supplemented by *exempla*. Lackner also gives an exact description of the gems decorating the crown and presents a symbolic mineralogy and moral theses at the same time. As established by József László Kovács, Lackner's chief source was Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*; besides this, he quotes several times from the works of Ovid, Sallust, Plutarch, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Antonio Beccadelli, Melanchthon, Erasmus, Paracelsus and Girolamo Cardano.<sup>36</sup>

A peculiar type of Princes' Mirror is represented by the compilation entitled *Idea boni principis* by Johannes Sinapius, published in 1682 in Halle, in the last year of life of its author.<sup>37</sup> The work is dedicated to the Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg; the twelve-leaf German-Latin work is divided into seven so-called explications. At the beginning of each there is an edifying story about the forebears of the Margrave, demonstrating a princely virtue. To these are connected references to authorities, entitled 'Analecta moralia' and wise sayings entitled 'Dicta Regalia'. All seven compositions conclude with a regular emblem, called 'Symbolum', with a motto in Latin and in German, a circle-shaped *pictura* and a Latin epigram interpreting the two. The work can be considered as a reduced variant of the Princes' Mirror genre, expanded by emblems and bordering both on panegyric literature and the art of *impresa*.

In the group of philosophical, political, and moral manuals Lackner's *Galea Martis*, published in Tübingen in 1625, is divided into seven so-called *classes*, with a circle-shaped emblem at the end of each *classis*.<sup>38</sup> The backbone of the explications are the numerous quotations, maxims, and aphorisms taken from classical, medieval and Humanist authors, and Lackner also refers several times to European emblematic literature and

<sup>35</sup> Christoph Lackner, *Coronae Hungariae Emblematica Descriptio* (Lauingen: Winter, 1615).

<sup>36</sup> Kovács, *Lackner Kristóf és kora...*, p. 80.

<sup>37</sup> Johann Sinapius, *Idea Boni Principis. Historicis Brennonum Symbolis...* (Halle: Walter, 1682).

<sup>38</sup> Christoph Lackner, *Galea Martis, hoc est, bona militia pro publica salute epitomice* (Tübingen: Wild, 1625).

to his own earlier publications. The author dedicated his work to Ferdinand II but wrote it, according to his note on the title page, in the public interest and, according to the two forewords, it was meant equally for civilians and soldiers. He discusses in separate *classes* the science of warfare, the virtues of piety, authority, order and self-defence, as well as a group of ideas concerning fortune and honour in war. The role of the emblems is the effective summing up and the fixing in memory of what has been said in each *classis*.

The Jesuit Gábor Hevenesi compiled in his *Succus prudentiae*, first published at Vienna in 1690 and running into two further editions, an emblematic compendium of Christian wisdom and virtues with the help of quotations and paraphrases from Seneca.<sup>39</sup> The work consists of fifty chapters; at the head of each there is a motto, under it an allegorical-symbolical copper engraving, under the picture a moralizing thesis and the detailed explication of the thesis. As József Turóczi-Trostler pointed out, 'the *Succus* reflects in every one of its aspects the Spanish-Baroque spirit, life and world-order characteristic of Saavedra. Their picture material and groups of motifs are also similar or completely identical.' Hevenesi provides the reader with advice for the most varied situations in life, and 'all pieces of advice meet in the tripartite unity of virtue, *ratio* and *humanitas*'.<sup>40</sup> Lőrinc Tapolcsányi published in 1706 the explanatory text of Hevenesi's work, but he left out the mottoes and the pictures.

A typical and early example of emblematics used in a collection of meditations is the work of the Jesuit Mátyás Hajnal, first published in 1629 in Vienna with 18 etchings.<sup>41</sup> The model of the copper etchings built upon the heart motif especially favoured in religious emblematics was the well-known Heart-of-Jesus series by Antoine Wierix, and Hajnal also knew the Luzvic-Binet meditation collection. In the 1642 edition the copper etchings were replaced by woodcuts which later became separated from the work and appeared as illustrations in other publications, e.g. in the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola.<sup>42</sup> The traditional structure of the emblem dissolves: as in the Luzvic-Binet edition, the motto of the pictures is missing and the six-line poem under the picture sums up the meaning. The latter, substituted for the *compositio loci* summarized in a poem, is developed in prose medi-

<sup>39</sup> Gabriel Hevenesi, *Succus prudentiae, sive discursus ethici, e Senecae [...] operibus collecti* (Vienna: Mann, 1690).

<sup>40</sup> József Turóczi-Trostler, 'Keresztény Seneca: Fejezetek a kései humanizmus európai és magyarországi történetéből', in József Turóczi-Trostler, *Magyar irodalom — világirodalom: Tanulmányok* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1961), vol. 2, p. 201.

<sup>41</sup> [Mátyás Hajnal], *Az Jesus szivet szerető sziveknek aytatosságára [...] Könyvechke* (Vienna: Rikhes, 1629).

<sup>42</sup> Ignatius de Loyola, *Exercitia spiritualia* (Nagyszombat: Acad. S. J., 1679).



tations, and both picture and epigram become component parts of the formal Jesuit method of meditation. As Béla Holl and Ferenc Zemplényi have established, Hajnal did not adopt the meditations of the Luzvic-Binet edition but wrote new ones and also changed the order of the pictures; the poems, on the other hand, he translated.<sup>43</sup> The meditations develop the most important chapter of Christian theology: teachings about divine grace and the road of the soul leading to God, centering on the reasons for the necessity to reform oneself and the analysis of the psychology of doing so in its individual application. The compilation indirectly 'connects with the late Renaissance vogue of emblems, which depicts in a spiritual *comoedia* the mystical connection of the soul with her heavenly betrothed by uniting pictorial illustration and poetical play, approaching the world of the Baroque stage'.<sup>44</sup>

In the substantial group of laudatory writings, emblematic publications on the Hapsburg Emperors form a special type. The latter is represented by the publication containing a description of the Graz mausoleum of Ferdinand II with the interpretation of the symbolical depictions.<sup>45</sup> Further eighteenth-century examples are three compilations by the Pauline monk Hermann Schmauchler constructed of varying numbers of textual emblems to glorify the political and military achievements of Charles III(VI).<sup>46</sup> Antal Vanossi's *Poesis entheia* also glorifies the military and political deeds of Charles accomplished in 1718.<sup>47</sup> On the work's allegorical frontispiece, which has the character of an *impresa*, and on the emblematic engravings placed at the head of each of the four parts the monarch appears as the sun encircled with the initial of his name, the letter C. The mottoes of the pictures are quotations from Virgil and Ovid, and the *explicatio* is in verse. The emblems glorifying rulers are often complemented by interpretative prose parts bringing them up to date.

<sup>43</sup> Béla Holl, ed., *Mátyás Hajnal: Az Jesus szivet szerető sziveknek aytatosságara [...] könyvvechke, Bécs, 1629* (Facsimile) (Budapest: Balassi, 1992); Ferenc Zemplényi, 'Egy jezsuita emblemikus: Hajnal Mátyás', in *A reneszánsz szimbolizmus: Ikonográfia, emblematika, Shakespeare*, eds. Tibor Fabiny, József Pál, György Endre Szönyi (Szeged: JATE Összehasonlító Irodalomtudományi Tanszéke, 1987), pp. 203-214.

<sup>44</sup> Holl, *Mátyás Hajnal...*, p. 16.

<sup>45</sup> [Antonius Hellmayr], *Mausoleum Graecense Ferdinandi II...* (Graz: Haered. Widmanstadii, 1732).

<sup>46</sup> Hermann Schmauchler, *Stupenda solis miracula! Cuncta animadversa in moderno orbis sole Carolo Sexto, [...] de Hispaniis in Hungariam proficente* (Vienna: Univ., 1712); Hermann Schmauchler, *Gaudiosa Divinae Benedictionis Corona...* (Vienna: Schmid, [1716]); Hermann Schmauchler, *Omne trinum perfectum [...] Triplex gloria Augustissimi Caroli...* (Vienna: Schwendemann, 1721).

<sup>47</sup> [Antonius Vanossi], *Poesis Entheia...* (Vienna: Schmidin, 1719). Cf. also: Carolus Andreas Bel, *Oratio Solennis de auspiciatissimo connubio [...] dominae Mariae Theresiae...* (Altdorf: Meyer, [1736]).

These add a historical dimension to the compositions when they evoke the deeds and sayings of famous monarchs with the help of *exempla*. In this manner the addressee appears as the incarnation of exemplary princely virtues, and the collection approaches the genre of the Princes' Mirror.

Regarding the number of publications composed on the occasion of academic festivities, commissioned most of the time by corporate bodies, in the non-Hungarian corpus, apart from the Italian academies, the universities of Altdorf, Dillingen and Vienna predominate. János Despotovich, for example, who composed a representative emblem series on the occasion of Francesco Borgia's canonization<sup>48</sup> has noted, as *praeses*, the publication in honour of the Hungarian nobleman Miklós Lippay who acquired a bachelor's degree at the university of Graz:<sup>49</sup> it presents, in a symbolical fashion, the five virtues of wisdom, knowledge, perseverance, heroism and strength. In the prose descriptions there are numerous classical and other quotations, mottoes, verse insets, and *exempla*, among them those of rulers. In 1680 those holding a bachelor's degree from the university of Graz were congratulated by a *liber gradualis* containing prose descriptions of six mythological pictures, as well as a so-called *prot-apodosis* in verse and a prose paraphrase connected with each of them, with many references to classical authorities.<sup>50</sup>

The last group of laudatory writings consists of publications printed on the occasions of various jubilees of the church and the religious orders; their authors are, without exception, Jesuits. The jubilee of the Jesuit order is merely one of the themes of the compilation by Joannes Despotovich for the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Jesuit college at Graz, with the praise of the founder, the Archduke Charles.<sup>51</sup> According to the title page, the publication, besides commemorating the order and praising the ruler, also had the task of congratulating the new doctors of philosophy of the university. Despotovich provides a symbolic mineralogy; he lauds the memory of the founder by explaining, in distichs, the qualities of a hundred precious and semi-precious stones.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, 'Emblematische Viten von Jesuitenheiligen im 17./18. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 80 (1998), 105-142.

<sup>49</sup> [Joannes Despotovich], *Honoris aureus torques Sapientiae praemium...* (Vienna: Cosmerovius, 1677).

<sup>50</sup> Johann Baptist Mayr, *Laurus Philosophica, Symbolis Imaginibus illustrata...* (Graz: Haered. Widmanstadii, 1680).

<sup>51</sup> [Joannes Despotovich], *C. [Centum] Coronaria et Grandis littera, quam Graecense Soc. Jesu Collegium feliciter implevit in Augusto nomine [...] fundatoris Caroli...* (Graz: Haered. Widmanstadii, 1673).

## OTHER FORMS OF CONTACT

The emblem book of a Hungarian author best-known in Europe, the *Emblemata* of Sambucus, was well received also in Germany.<sup>52</sup> Readers' notes and carefully coloured woodcuts in many surviving copies testify that the work was widely disseminated and intensively used.<sup>53</sup> Recognition of Sambucus' book by fellow authors is illustrated in a number of contemporary works. Nicolas Reusner documented mutual esteem in keeping with the custom of the period: apart from his emblem in praise of Sambucus, his own emblem book contains a laudatory letter and two emblems to him from the Hungarian.<sup>54</sup> Sambucus's collection, particularly the first and second quarto editions, was often used as an *album amicorum*. Klose's repertory for the sixteenth century lists 24 such surviving copies, though there must have been many more.<sup>55</sup> A copy of the 1566 edition, for example, was owned as an *album amicorum* by the prominent emblemist Daniel Cramer.<sup>56</sup> The book's popularity in Germany is shown by the fact that several copies found their way into private libraries; Goethe owned a copy which was bound with a 1580 edition of Alciato.<sup>57</sup> The many authors who used Sambucus as a source include Joachim Camerarius.<sup>58</sup>

An appropriate example for an emblematic print in German with Hungarian relevance is the publication, edited in 1698 in Nuremberg and Frankfurt/M., on the miraculous weeping icon of the Virgin from Pócs that was transported from Hungary to Vienna in the spring of 1697 on the instructions of Emperor Leopold I.<sup>59</sup> The anonymous compiler has linked the emblem form consistently with the elements from the picture's growing cult. The first and main part of the work includes — in accordance with the weeping having lasted 35 consecutive days — 35

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Holger Homann, *Studien zur Emblemik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Sebastian Brant, Andrea Alciati, Johannes Sambucus, Mathias Holtzwardt, Nicolaus Taurellus* (Utrecht: Dekker and Gumbert, 1971), pp. 43-78; August Buck, ed., *Johannes Sambucus: Emblemata. Antverpiae, 1564* (Facsimile) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982); Imre Téglásy, *A nyelv- és irodalomelmélet kezdetei Magyarországon: Sylvester Jánostól Zsámboky Jánosig* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), pp. 92-117.

<sup>53</sup> For example the copy of the Antwerp, 1569 edition of the *Emblemata* in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, shelf-mark: 154.18 Eth.

<sup>54</sup> László Varga, 'Sámboky (Sambucus) János emblémái', *Könyv és Könyvtár*, 4 (1964) 219f.

<sup>55</sup> Wolfgang Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum: CAAC. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1988).

<sup>56</sup> Klose, *Corpus Alborum Amicorum...*, p. 156.

<sup>57</sup> *Goethes Bibliothek: Katalog*, ed. H. Ruppert (Weimar: Arion, 1958), no. 1478.

<sup>58</sup> Varga, 'Sámboky (Sambucus) János emblémái', p. 220.

<sup>59</sup> *Abgetrocknete Thränen. Das ist: Von der wunderthätigen [...] Bildnis [...] zu Pötsch in Ober-Hungarn...* (Nuremberg/ Frankfurt/M.: Lochner, 1698).

laudatory, congratulatory and didactic so-called *Diskursen* over 456 pages. In the second part we find six sermons, delivered by six different authors in front of the Pócs picture in the church Maria am Gestade in Vienna. In the third part one can read three sermons of Abraham à Sancta Clara on the same picture. Each *Diskurs* begins with a so-called *Sinnbild*, provided with a motto and a German and Latin *subscriptio* in verse and followed by an explication in prose, arranged in paragraphs. The introductory emblem to the six sermons is explained in the sixth. The third sermon, entitled *Aller Freud und Fried*, praises the picture from Pócs as having brought victory at Zenta [Senta, Yu.] over the Turks. The same purpose is served by nine emblem-explanations added to the sermon.

The treatises in prose interpreting the 35 emblems demonstrate the history of the picture from completion to miraculous weeping and recount the first manifestations of the cult.<sup>60</sup> The three main elements, the weeping, the 'homecoming' of the picture to Vienna and its protective role against the Turks are the most important motifs of the emblems and *Diskursen*. The author compiled the pictures from well-known emblem *topoi* (e.g. burning mirror, hands reaching out from clouds, retort, basilisc, ark, real pearl). The references show a solid use of the famous collections of emblems and symbols of the time (e.g. Pierio Valeriano, Ripa, Aresi, Caussin, Tesauro, Saavedra Fajardo). The primary role of the emblems was to facilitate the memorization of the new elements of the cult of the picture. The publication contributed significantly to this picture of the Virgin, from Hungary, becoming in a short time the most venerated picture in Vienna and its fame spreading rapidly to the farthest ends of the Hapsburg Empire.

We should also mention the German translation of a foreign emblem book published in Hungary: in 1753 an abridged German translation of Herman Hugo's *Pia desideria*, by Johann Baptist Huttner, was published at Buda.<sup>61</sup> The original work is divided into three books and in each one into 15 emblematic meditations. At the head of each meditation there is a *pictura* with a biblical quotation at the bottom of the page. The same quotation appears also at the head of the elegy following the picture and at the head of the concluding prose compilation of biblical and patristic quotations. The emblem offers here a ready-made construction in which the traditional forms of contemplating the pictures and

<sup>60</sup> Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, 'Abgetrocknete Thränen: Elemente in der Wiener Verehrung des marianischen Gnadenbildes von Pötsch im Jahre 1698', *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1998), 93-104.

<sup>61</sup> Herman Hugo (tr. Johann Baptist Huttner), *Gotteeliger Begierden sechs erste Elegien...* (Buda: Landerer, 1753).



third of the illustrations the emblematic communication remains on a general level and is only loosely connected with the action. On some occasions one can also observe a contradiction between the emblematic parts of the picture and those illustrating the text, and a small number of emblems can be understood to refer equally to the individual scene or to the entire action. All this indicates the fundamentally didactic character of the connections between picture and text.

About one quarter of the emblems in *Argenis* transmit an explicitly political content; their morals refer to governing the state and to the proper behaviour of the ruler. There is also a significant number of emblems conveying a political message or a moral for rulers in an indirect manner. The high ratio of emblems of this type shows the close connection of the work with the genre of the Princes' Mirror and with the literature of political science; the editions illustrated in this manner form a good example of the penetration of emblematics into the sphere of *belles lettres*.

As a final example of the interaction of the German-language area and Hungary we should also mention the frequent occurrence of German emblem authors in the historic library catalogues of Hungary. In the library of the poet Count Miklós Zrínyi, for example, one could find, beside the volumes of Alciato, Ruscelli, Bocchi, Montenay and Typotius, the works of Camerarius, Lackner, Rollenhagen and Drexel.<sup>66</sup> German authors in Sopron private libraries before 1721 include, among others, Camerarius, Zingref and Caussin.<sup>67</sup> For reasons easy to surmise, Jesuit college libraries preferred the works of Jesuit emblematisers like, for example, Drexel, Engelgrave, Masen, Caussin, van der Sandt and Jacob Balde, but they also possessed or used Camerarius, Reusner, Boschius, Abraham à Sancta Clara, and Harsdörffer.<sup>68</sup> Clearly emblem-books operated across not only language frontiers and political boundaries but also across denominational barriers.

<sup>66</sup> *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya*, ed. Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Argumentum-Zrínyi, 1991).

<sup>67</sup> *Lesestoffe in Westungarn I: Sopron (Ödenburg) 1535-1721*, ed. Tibor Grüll, Katalin Keveházi, József László Kovács etc. (Szeged: Scriptum Kft, 1994).

<sup>68</sup> Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, 'Sources for the Teaching of Emblematics in the Jesuit Colleges in Hungary', in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference 18-23 August, 1996*, ed. John Manning and Marc van Vaecck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 115-145.

## Über einen europäischen Aspekt der Augsburger Erstausgabe der Embleme von Andrea Alciato

VON

JOHANNES KÖHLER

Erramus omnes et Andabatarum more  
clausis oculis plerumque decertamus.

Wer die Fragen und Forschungsergebnisse kennt, die mit der *editio princeps* der Embleme von Andrea Alciato vom 28. Februar 1531 in Augsburg zusammenhängen, wird angesichts des Themas vielleicht stöhnen und denken: Bitte, nicht noch einmal. Wenn mit Alciato gesagt werden muß, wir tapen alle umher, und wie die Andabaten im Kolosseum kämpfen wir meistens mit verschlossenen Augen<sup>1</sup>, darf dies nicht mehr als Entschuldigung gelten, seit Scholz in einem Forschungsbericht das zusammengetragen und kritisch dargestellt hat, was in den vergangenen Jahren zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *editio princeps* der Embleme geäußert wurde.<sup>2</sup>

Etwa zur selben Zeit, in der Scholz' Forschungsbericht erschien, erhielt ich einen bislang unveröffentlichten Brief eines Kollegen, Hans-Friedrich Bartig, als Antwort auf meinen Beitrag zur Beantwortung der Frage: 'Warum erschien der *Emblematum liber* von Andrea Alciato 1531 in Augsburg?'<sup>3</sup> Damals wurde gemeinsam mit Scholz und Callahan überlegt, ob dieser Brief zusammen mit einer Antwort publiziert werden solle. Es blieb bei dem Vorhaben. Inzwischen verstarb Callahan 1999, die

<sup>1</sup> Andrea Alciato, *Paradoxa ad Pratum* (Mailand: Minutianus, 1518), Einleitung; Hieronymus, *Gegen Jovinianus* 1,36; Cicero, *Epistolae familiares* 7,10,2.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard F. Scholz, 'The 1531 Augsburg Edition of Alciato's *Emblemata*: A Survey of Research', *Emblematica*, 5 (1991), 213-254.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Köhler, 'Warum erschien der *Emblematum liber* von Andrea Alciato 1531 in Augsburg?' in *The European Emblem. Selected Papers from the Glasgow Conference 11-14 August, 1987*, hg. von Bernhard F. Scholz u.a. (Leiden u.a.: Brill, 1990), S. 19-33.